[45] THE CARIBS, GUADELOUPE, PART TWO

The Origin, Customs, Religion, and Other Practices Of The Caribs, Commonly Called Savages, Early Inhabitants Of Guadeloupe

797 As our mission was established principally for the instruction of the
●114 infidel savages, it is necessary to describe their origins and customs, for a knowledge of the temperament of those with whom we deal will make it easier to judge the ultimate success of the mission. We recount here only what is certain. Father Raymond Breton, a missionary monk who conversed nearly two years with the savages and who learned their language well in that time (1), was able to learn their customs

1. Parisian version: "Father Raymond... learned their language so well that during that time he was able..." [See: Joseph Rennard, Les Caraïbes, La Guadeloupe (The Caribs, Guadeloupe), Paris, 1929. pp. 6-18.]

and ceremonies. He witnessed nearly all of these or learned of them first hand, at least as far as those of Dominica are concerned. In the other islands they have other notions, as we have seen from the report of Father Meslan, a Jesuit who has visited the savages of Martinique.

[46] CHAPTER I

The Origin and Temperament of The Savages

101 Nothing can be made of all their fancies and lies concerning their
174 origins except that they are descended from the people of the mainland closest to the islands. That much is certain. The friendship they maintain with them and the commerce with them are signs of
101 it, as is the uniformity of the name they call themselves—kallinago [callinagg] in the men's language and kalliponam [calliponam] in

CONCERNING THE NATIVES OF THE ANTILLES

The Origin of the Island Caribs

173 The Caribs are filled with all kinds of theories concerning their
775 origin and it is not a little difficult to get from them even the semblance of truth, because of the diversity of their stories. Among so many different opinions, however, they do hold one belief in common: they say they are descended from the Galibis, a people who dwell in South America and are their closest neighbors. They do not know the time nor the reason which impelled them to leave their native land and led them to expand into these rather remote islands. They only affirm that their first father, a man called Kalinago [Breton: Callinago], became restless among his nation and, wishing to conquer new lands, embarked with all his family. After having sailed for quite a long time he established himself in Dominica which is an island where Caribs live in fairly large numbers. Kalinago's children, losing the respect that they owed to their father, gave him a poisonous drink which caused his death. Yet it is said he changed his shape and became a hideous fish, which is called by them Anaiceman and which lives even today in the river. Only the simplest people agree about this metamorphosis. The others consider it to be a complete delusion.

84 Since one cannot infer anything from this fable which would fully
173 satisfy us concerning their origin, the reader must content himself with what has been stated by the Reverend Father Raymond [Breton] in his dictionary. I don't think there is anyone in Europe at the present time who has a more certain knowledge than he does, for he has spent a good part of his life with these islanders, from whom he has learned everything which it is possible to know about them. Here are his own words:

173 "I have finally learned from the captains on the island of Dominica that the words Galibis and Carib were names that had been given to them by Europeans. Their true name was Callinago and they designated themselves only with the words: oubaóbanum and boloüóbanum: that is to say, 'from the islands' and 'from the continent.' These island Caribs

726 were still a few Igneri in the mountains who survived the Galibis massacre of the original inhabitants, and that occasionally these Igneri descended in stealth from the mountains and did much harm to the Galibis. But our hunters who at that time traveled all over the island had no knowledge of them.

In addition, it was said that a little time before the journey made by Father Raymond [Breton], these so-called Igneri had seized a young Negro slave woman and after they had skinned her they covered a tree with her skin. This inhuman cruelty aroused the Caribs to fury, and they gathered together and climbed up inaccessible rocks. They reached a house which they surrounded. The people inside consisted only of one man together with his wife and small child. After a weak attempt at resistance they were captured. The husband was roasted and eaten, and the woman and her child were enslaved. Five years later, Father Raymond [Breton] having returned to the area learned of a raid by the mountain people who had set fire to some houses belonging to their enemies. After loading themselves with booty they returned to their mountain settlement. This new eruption gave Father Raymond [Breton] a reason to question the Caribs. He asked whether they believed the people who made these raids were still true Igneri. They answered "no," that these mountain people were fugitive slaves called Allouagues whom they had captured in war. The captives, they said, fearing shameful servitude and afraid of being eaten, had taken to the woods and mountains where they increased in numbers because they had their wives with them.

● 64 179 Relying on the accounts of Mr. de l'Olive, of Mr. de la Ramee, and of the oldest inhabitants of our islands, I emphasized the point in the first edition [1654 edition] of this history that some of the Caribs who lived in the islands before us were survivors of the Spanish massacres in the islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. This is different from what Mr. de Rochefort would have us believe. Although it is quite difficult to tack against the wind with the native boats, nevertheless, it is not true that:

[502] "It is marvelous that the boats of the Caribs are able to tack against the wind and gain a league a day."

I myself have seen them make ten to twelve leagues per day in the face of contrary winds. Therefore the difficulty these fugitives would

114 have had in reaching our islands is not so great as Mr. de Rochefort
174 would have us believe. In addition we have learned from the companions of Mr. Demambuc that in the fights waged at St. Kitts in 1626 there were among the Caribs who perished there several of these miserable refugees who had fled to avoid the cruelty of the Spanish.

But Mr. de Rochefort in arguing against what I said in my first edition, but without quoting me, did not pay heed to the fact that he was falling into much greater error when stating that the Caribs descended from the Apalachites who lived six or seven hundred leagues beyond the islands occupied by the Spanish. The only reason for his statement is that the winds were favorable five or six hundred years ago, which is to say about three hundred years before the discovery of America. This is a very wild guess on his part.

Thus I am convinced that the only reason Mr. de Rochefort had for seeking so great a distance for the origin of the Caribs was to have a pretext for increasing his book with the history which Mr. Bristol has made of the Apalachites. In the same way Mr. d Rochefort has stated that a sea unicorn was washed ashore at Tortuga. This story belongs to the fancy of Davis and du Groenland. Mr. de Rochefort put this story into his book in order to use the history of these people made by the Dutch, and in this fashion he has mixed the north and the south, the heats of the Torrid Zone with the cold and ice of the extreme latitudes. As a matter of fact, although I was in the islands by the time this so-called unicorn was beached and although I was very curious to learn everything which happened in these islands, I never heard anything resembling this story. All of the inhabitants of that time whom I questioned told me that they had never heard about it, and I cannot conceive how the memory of such a considerable event would have remained obscure to them. I do not wish to say that this story is absolutely false or impossible.

Concerning the Religion of the Caribs

187 It is a very deplorable fact to see these poor people being born in paganism and spending their lives in darkness, for as St. Paul said: "filii irae sine Deo in hoc mundo."

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

175 Puerto Rico. He then proceeded to St. Croix, where *Carib* warriors savagely attacked the expedition before it departed for the *Arawak* island of Puerto Rico.

The Spaniards made no attempt to settle the Lesser Antilles. There was no gold there, and the agricultural potentialities did not compensate for the difficulty of subduing the *Carib*. The colonists did, however, make numerous slave raids against the islands taking advantage, after the prohibition of such raids elsewhere, of a provision permitting attacks on cannibals.

In 1623 the British and French settled St. Kitts, driving the *Carib* from that island with great cruelty. In rapid succession the British then colonized Nevis, St. Lucia, Barbados, Montserrat, and Antigua; the French settled Guadeloupe, Martinique, Désirade, Marie-Galante, St. Lucia, and Grenada; and the Dutch occupied Montserrat and Antigua. By the end of the century the *Carib* had been driven from all the important islands except Dominica and St. Vincent, and on those islands they were being buffeted between the British and French, each of whom obtained the aid of the savages in attacks on the other.

French missionaries made many attempts after 1650 to convert the *Carib* to Christianity, but with little success. The missionaries began to reside among the Indians, to study and speak their language. Fathers like Raymond Breton and Phillipe de Beaumont remained 25 years in Dominica, but the *Carib* gave only lip service to the Christian religion. About 1706 the missionaries abandoned St. Vincent entirely because of a plot of the *Carib* to kill all of them.

In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore and later to Ruatán Island near the coast of Honduras, where they now occupy the entire coastline from Stann Creek in British Honduras to Black River in the Republic of Honduras, and are known as the *Garifi*, or *Black Carib*.

The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica. At present there are some 500 survivors, less than a third of whom are full-blooded[a] (pl. 98).

SOURCES

● 176 Many of the writings of Columbus, his son, and the early explorers and historians who have been quoted above as sources for *Arawak* ethnology also contain some data on the *Carib*. The best material, however, comes

[a] The above statement does not take into consideration the few *Carib* believed to have lived among the *Arawak* in Puerto Rico and Trinidad. Their history has already been given above in connection with the *Arawak*.

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13
(1650-1700)

from the missionaries and other observers who had contact with the In- 184
dians between 1650 and 1700, when the Lesser Antilles were first being
settled. Rouxm (1640), Breton (1877, 1892), Labat (1724, 1931), La
Borde (1704, 1886), Du Puis (1652), and Dutertre (1667–71; copied in
Rochefort, 1665, and Davies, 1666) are the principal primary sources.
These have been compiled by Ballet (1875), Harris (1904), Sheldon
(1820), Cornilliac (1875), Edwards (1818–19), Featherman (1881–91),
Jefferys (1760), Joyce (1916), and Ober (1895), in the last six cases in
conjunction with comparable compilations of *Arawak* ethnography.
Delawarde (1938), Ober (1880), and D. Taylor (1935, 1936, 1938) have
provided information concerning the modern descendants of the *Carib* in
the West Indies, while Conzemius (1928) and Sapper (1897 b) have
described the *Black Carib* of Central America.

Although the number of *Carib* sources and compilations is smaller than
for the *Arawak*, each source, being more or less ethnographic in nature,
contains relatively more information, and our knowledge of *Carib* culture
is therefore comparable to that of *Arawak* culture. Many of the mission-
aries failed to distinguish between islands, and as a result the following
account will deal with the *Carib* as a whole. The period covered is that
from 1650 to 1700, when the *Carib* were concentrated on Dominica, [101]
Martinique, and St. Vincent.

ETHNOGRAPHY

The *Carib* had a strong national consciousness. To distinguish them- 184
selves from the *Arawak* they used the term *Callinago* or *Calino*, which was 101
corrupted by Columbus to *Caribales*, and later to *Carib*. From it comes
our word "cannibal." The inhabitants of each island had a special name,
which was formed by adding a suffix to the name of the island. Dominica,
for example, was called *Ouaitacoremboüli*, and its inhabitants had the name
Ouaitacoremboületi.

Carib men and women had certain differences in language, which may 198
have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from
the *Arawak*. When speaking together both sexes used the men's language.
The old men also had some words not found in the ordinary men's
language. These were developed in the war councils.

No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been 61
discovered. By 1700, it is said that the number of these Indians had
fallen to 4,000, half of them on Dominica and the rest on St. Vincent.
The *Carib* were more robust than the *Arawak*. They had well-developed 182
flexible bodies and broad buttocks and shoulders. Their height was
medium, the skin olive-colored, and the hair and eyes black. When at 187
ease they tended to be melancholy; when aroused they became truculent
and vindictive.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

THE CARIBS OF DOMINICA

By Douglas Taylor

Introduction

[1] As the last direct descendants of those first-found "American Redskins," the Island Arawak and the conquering Island Carib, the Caribs of Dominica possess an unique historical and sentimental interest. Today, in fact, they are the only indigenous "Indians" to be found in all the West Indian chain between the Guianas and Florida. Owing, no doubt, to the rugged nature of their homeland, they have outlived their cousins of the other Caribbees (with the partial exception of St. Vincent) by some 200 years. But at last [2] their course is run, and they are fast disappearing. Of their story little is known and less written; and it is with the purpose of recording, before it becomes too late, something of this vestige of a once virile and powerful people, that my own attempt at knowing them has been made.

[3] Dominica was discovered on Columbus' second voyage, and was so named by him for its being first sighted on Sunday, November 3, 1493. In a letter dated 1494, Diego Chanca, the fleet's doctor, gives its native name as Cayré, though this may have been a confusion with the Arawak term for island or land in general—kaera, as in Turukaera for Guadeloupe, and Iwanakaera for Martinique. However, the population was then of too warlike a nature, and the Caribbees of too little value in the Spaniards' eyes, to warrant any serious attempts at settlement. It is therefore not until well into the seventeenth century that we get any reliable reports—this time from the French missionary fathers—of the Carib Islanders.

Father Raymond Breton spent nearly 25 years among the Caribs of Dominica, and wrote subsequently a Carib dictionary, a grammar, and a translation of the usual prayers, together with a catechism in their tongue. Under the various headings of the dictionary he gives a concise description of the local beliefs, customs, and arts, as well as of the flora and fauna of the island, domestic utensils, weapons, etc. While he deplores what he naturally considers the Caribs' moral laxity in certain respects (drink, women, and especially their insensibility or indifference to the call of religion; he succeeded, he himself tells us, during his 25 years of zeal, in converting only "quelques enfants

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

sur le point de la mort"), he shows a general liking for his hosts, calls them his friends, and says that theft and lying were unknown to them before the advent of the Christian Europeans—a statement confirmed by La Borde, Rochefort, and Labat. Rochefort further says that while the Caribs of St. Vincent and Dominica were slave owners they never evinced the same cruelty as was common among the whites, but treated their slaves, except for the obligation of work, more like their own children than anything else. Breton gives the native name of Dominica as Waitukûbuli.

The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), insofar as it left the then unsettled island of Dominica "to the undisturbed possession of the native Indians," was violated by the English only 12 years later, on the pretext that the French had made establishments on the island. From then on until the end of the century these two pillars of civilization ousted one another from their respective nests as often as and whenever opportunity offered; and we can well imagine that between them "the native Indian," if not exterminated, was driven more and more into the fastnesses of forest and mountain. Writing in 1791, Atwood, in his history of Dominica, mentions as still prevalent the Carib custom of head deformation, and the skill with which even the children used bow and arrow. Even the memory of both is now lost, though as late as 1862 the Dominican Caribs sent the following articles to the London Exhibition: A "nest" of 12 baskets, bows and arrows, bobichet (manioc sifter), rattles, powder flasks, dishes.

Although I know of no records for that time, it is probable that the first half of the nineteenth century was the period of the Dominica Caribs' final conversion to Christianity, and of the greatest decay in national language, tradition, and custom. An old Carib still living told me that previous to the middle of the last century there was no church in or near the Reserve, but that some Caribs used to go to Marie Galante in their canoes to attend mass, or to have their children baptized.

In 1877, and again some 15 years later, Salybia, around which the Caribs were already concentrated, was visited by the American ornithologist, Frederick Ober, who appears to have been the first person since the middle of the eighteenth century to take the slightest interest in this last isolated island tribe. It is noteworthy that he is still remembered in the Reserve today by men and women who could have been little more than infants at the time of his visit. Ober's "Camps in the Caribbees" is a traveling and, as such, unsatisfactory as to ethnological data—as much by lack of detail as by the constant suspicion of inexactitude, or rather, poetic license. I have spoken to several sons and daughters of Ober's two guides at the time of his first visit, and none of them claims to remember having heard such a story as that told by Ober of his encounter in the forest

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
ST13 Callinago ST13

with the mad chief who spoke only Carib. Nevertheless, owing to the Carib's peculiar reticence, as much with one another as with strangers, this does not exclude the possibility of such an encounter having taken place. Likewise, according to present-day Caribs, his story of the army of coast-bound crabs met with in the mountains is either grossly exaggerated or refers to a small species known as the "soldat" or hermit crab—the "sirique" crab disliking the sea, and the other, black or white, land crabs being rarely found on the windward coast, or in the regions mentioned. Ober found a number of older men and women in Salybia who spoke an Indian dialect as their mother tongue, and even noted the persistence, in that late day, of the differentiation between men's and women's languages. He mentions the snake legend, and speaks of finding archeological remains in St. Vincent, but not in Dominica. (I have heard of, though not seen, old stone implements and "rocks with writing" on the wooded heights between the Akayu River and the Araturi Ravine.) At the time of Ober's visits the so-called reserve was somewhat smaller than at present, but there were other Carib lands and settlements at North End (between the Pagoua and Mariget), Wesley (La Soie), Callihistie, Penville, Morne Caraibe, and Délice.

In June 1903 the Carib Reserve in its present form was created by decree, and its boundaries delimited as extending from the Akayu (or Raymond) River (some say the Araturi Ravine, and there seems to be no existing document to settle the matter) to Kukris (or Big River), a dry ravine, along the coast, inland, up the latter ravine to the ridge, and hence down the Ravine Pommes to the Pagoua River, which the boundary then follows up to Deux Branches, whence it cuts across in a straight line to the Akayu River. This decree made no attempt to define the status of the reserve, nor of its inhabitants and their chief. In point of fact, the Caribs merely continued their traditional custom of electing from their numbers a chief or headman (tibuto), whose duty it is to advise and direct members of the tribe and to settle such disputes as may arise among them. For some years prior to 1930 this institution received a degree of official recognition, with remuneration to the extent of 10 shillings ($2.40) a month. In return for which the local government held the chief responsible for order within the reserve generally, and for the upkeep of the coastal bridle path through Carib territory.

In September 1930, a few days after the hurricane, and a month after my first visit, the so-called "Carib War" took place. Five negro policemen invaded the reserve, seized some tobacco and rum they alleged to be contraband, and made two arrests. Then, a dispute arising, they opened fire on an unarmed crowd of men, women, and children, killing two and injuring others. The Caribs in their turn set upon the police with stick and stone and chased them from

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

55] comes from *dèbu lawori*, *yebini my lawori* (a halted verb of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me*.

CONCLUSION

114 It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib
174 society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much further back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

174 That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were
[565] in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

179 Thus the Island Caribs were and remained peripheral canoe be doubted,
563 and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have dispersed of

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11 Gaston Gohlen suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a problem of the females coming with foreign souls.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callimago ST13
Garif SA 12.

THE INTERPRETATION OF SOME DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE ON CARIB CULTURE

DOUGLAS TAYLOR

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IN ESSENCE, the present paper is a series of commentaries on Rouse's presentation of Carib culture in Volume 4 of the *Handbook of South American Indians*.[1] The summary which he offers is excellent in many ways and will be much appreciated by those who want a précis of the scattered material on the Caribs. Yet there are a number of points which need reweighting and correcting in the light of a better understanding of the documentary evidence for Carib culture in early colonial times.

If it is true, as Steward says in his "Preface" to this volume,[2] that "The Circum-Caribbean area is not only the least known of all South America, but is perhaps the most important to problems of native American culture history," it is the more remarkable that its most richly documented sub-area, the Antilles, has received so little attention from ethnologists and ethnographers in recent decades. To the best of my knowledge, the source material has never been compiled and evaluated; and no exhaustive study of the few remaining descendants of its pre-Conquest inhabitants has been undertaken. For it is not quite accurate that "The Antillean tribes may be said to be extinct," as Steward declares on page one of this volume of the *Handbook*; nor is it true, as he asserted in his article on "The Changing American Indian," that the Black Caribs of Central America "speak French."[3] Referring to Arawak Indian remnants in Cuba and Trinidad, Rouse says: "A thorough study of the customs of these two places, westernized though they are, might reveal some survivals from prehistoric times."[4] Certainly, as I have tried to show on several occasions, the Carib remnant in Dominica offers more in the way of racial and cultural survival than is commonly believed, or could possibly be guessed from the miserable photograph of St Vincent "Carib descendants" on Plate 98 of this volume.[5] On the other hand, the Black Caribs of Central America, Negroid as they are today (a characteristic shared to a considerable extent by their neighbors, the less numerous Mosquito

[G 114]

1 *The Circum-Caribbean Tribes* (Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology, no. 143, vol. 4, Julian H. Steward, ed., Washington, 1948).

2 *Handbook*, p. xvi.

3 *The Science of Man in the World Crisis* (New York, 1945), p. 287.

4 *Handbook*, p. 521.

5 With which compare, for example, the photographs of Dominica Caribs in Natural History, vol. 48, New York, 1941, pp. 42-45.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930/1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13
Garif SA12
C 114 G [174]

"Indians"), are an offshoot of the St Vincent Caribs, whose language, and to some extent culture, they alone have conserved. Obviously, familiarity with such residual, broken, or transplanted cultures as these cannot replace an acquaintance with the early sources, but it can and does help to interpret the latter with a minimum chance of error.

These early accounts often differ, as Rouse remarks, from source to source; so that it is impossible to know where to place confidence until one has some knowledge of their authors' lives. The first French source on the Caribs, Breton's *Relation de l'Etablissement des Français en l'île de la Martinique*, was written after a three months' stay in the West Indies; du Puis', and Arnaud de la Poix' accounts of the settlement of Guadeloupe, the latter largely inspired by Breton, after five years in that island. Rouse seems to have relied largely on Rochefort (in Davies' translation), and on du Terrre (la Borde and Labat came half a century later). The former was a Protestant missionary who was in the West Indies about 1650—where and for how long he does not tell us, though he admits to having got information from Aubet (or Aubert), who had been Governor of Guadeloupe, 1641-1643, and from Breton. Du Terrre, a Catholic priest, was in Guadeloupe on three occasions (1640-1642, 1643-1647, and what was almost a round trip in 1656-1657), on which he met a number of Caribs and became acquainted with Father Breton, whom he rates as *the* authority, not only on the language, but also on the culture of the Caribs. Breton provided both du Terrre and Rochefort with information concerning Carib language and culture, aroused the former's compliment by calling him the historian of the Antilles, but wrote of the latter's 1658 Rotterdam publication, "there is so much in it where he has followed what I gave him only in so far as he pleased;" and he cites fifteen words attributed to himself, which, he says, "we must point more Sauvages."[6] Du Terrre was more outspoken, and said that Rochefort, whenever he could, had stolen from him, often turning him (du Terrre) into perfect nonsense in order to hide the theft. While such attacks are unlikely to be quite impartial, Breton's preeminence as ethnographer of the Carib must not be overlooked. Rouse says: "French missionaries made many attempts after 1650 to convert the Carib to Christianity, . . . Fathers like Raymond Breton and Philippe de Beaumont remained 25 years in Dominica."[7] Although this figure is an error on the part of Labat (1724), copied by myself (1938), and by Rouse in the *Handbook*, Breton is the only author whose account of Island Carib culture in early colonial times is based on what amounted to extensive field work, not to mention a knowledge of the lan-

6 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïbe-Français*, Introduction, section 13.
7 *Handbook*, p. 548.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

guage. One of the first contingent of priests sent to that island, he landed in Guadeloupe, as he himself tells us, "on the eve of the feast of St Peter and St Paul" in June 1635, first went to live among the Dominica Caribs in January 1641, "depuis lequel temps jusqu'à la fin de 1653 j'ai fréquenté parmi eux, avec quelque interruption," and finally sailed again for France early in 1654.[8] From the time of his arrival in the islands, he showed a keen interest in the Caribs' language, culture, and welfare; and his last thirteen years there were spent in long spells of living among them in Dominica, interspersed with trips to Guadeloupe, St Kitts (St Christopher's), and other islands. Philippe de Beaumont, who succeeded Breton in Dominica, appears to have left, on the Caribs, only a long letter in which he pleads that their extermination should not be pursued to the bitter end, and which resulted in the treaty of March 31, 1660, which he himself signed on behalf of the Caribs of Dominica, and by which English and French both agreed to leave Dominica and St Vincent to the Caribs. Of the later Fathers, la Borde (1704) does not say how much personal experience he had with the Caribs, while Labat (1724), whose stay in the islands was a long one, mentions only a two weeks' visit in January 1700 to the Caribs of Dominica, who by that time were for the most part concentrated on the windward (eastern) side of the island. In Martinique, hostilities between Carib and white began in 1635, and by 1658 nearly all the former had been driven out of the island or killed. The census of April 12, 1683, showed a total of only 61 Caribs, including women and children, for the whole island; and according to Labat (1724), only one Carib family remained in all Martinique when he went there as parish priest of Macouba. So much for the relative value of our best known sources.

"The Carib name for the Arawak whom they conquered in the Lesser Antilles was *Igueri*."[9] Breton does not give this name, though he has: "*Arrouagues, sont les ennemis de Caraïbes, vocalliche, f. alouagues.*" On the other hand, Ygueri (*ibid.*?) and its variants (igueri, eyeri, ieri), should be compared with Breton's "*eyéri hommes*," and with the present-day Black Caribs' eiéri, iéri, *man (-ri)*, in the language of the women.

"According to their traditions, they [the Carib] came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus."[10] This statement also has been made, in substance, by a number of other modern authors, and I should be interested to learn its source. Breton relates one of their traditions, according to which the first Island Carib were mainland Galibis who had left the continent

8 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 423.
9 *Handbook*, p. 345.
10 *Handbook*, p. 347.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13
Garif SA12

to conquer the islands led by a Chief "small in body, but great in courage, who ate little, and drank still less"; and goes on to say how they told him that they had had kings in former times, and that the word *aboúyou* was the name given to those who bore the king on their shoulders.[11] Armand de la Paix says that they were unable to give a reasonable account of how they had left the mainland and come to the islands.

> Only that, they all say, their first Kallinago [Carib] father, having left the mainland accompanied by his family, settled in Dominica. He had a long posterity and saw the nephews of his nephews, who, in their extreme cruelty, killed him by poison. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size which they call Akáiuma, and is still full of life in their river.[12]

It is certainly not such traditions as these which can fix the date of the Caribs' first arrival in the Antilles within a century.

Of the Black Carib, Rouse states: "In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore, and later to Ruatán Island, near the coast of Honduras. . . ."[13] In Armand de la Paix' *Relation*, we find under the year 1646: "Some Negroes of Saint Vincent of the isles, being in Saint Lucia, massacred some French people from Martinique by the order of their Carib master"; while according to the Calendar of State Papers (West Indian Colonies) for 1667, the Island of St Vincent then contained "all Indians, and some Negroes from the loss of two Spanish ships in 1635."[14] The introduction of Negroes to St Vincent goes much further back, therefore, than the shipwreck of 1675; and perhaps even to Carib raids on Puerto Rico, antedating the French and English colonization of the Lesser Antilles. According to la Borde, the Negroes in St Vincent had become as powerful as the Indians there, by his day; while twenty years later (1719) the "Black Carib" were masters of the island, outnumbering the "Yellow Caribs" to an extent which, according to Bryan Edwards, had reached the proportions of ten to one before the end of the eighteenth century. They had been on friendly terms with the French, this author

11 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

12 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, p. 46. The former was head of the Dominican mission in Guadeloupe from 1643 to 1649, and reported outline of the *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe faite par les Missionnaires Dominicains à leur Général en 1647*, which was published in the latter's work.

13 *Handbook*, p. 548.

14 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, pp. 108-109; *Calendar of State Papers*, 1661-1668, No. 1661.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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tells us moreover, since long before his time; and their enmity toward the English, aroused by the latter's insatiable land-greed and temporarily dispelled by the treaty of 1773 (which assigned them the northern and more mountainous quarter of the island), had been subsequently re-awakened by the openly expressed intentions of many English colonists to dispossess them still further. Instigated and supported by the French revolutionary leader, Victor Hugues, war between the St Vincent Carib ("Black" and "Yellow") together with the "democratical whites" on the one hand, and the English together with their slaves on the other, broke out on March 10, 1795, and continued until, "before the close of November 1796, the Charaibes and their allies had all submitted, on the terms offered to them by the British commander." The narrative continues:

> The Charaibes, including women and children, were in number nearly 5000; and the whites and people of colour amounted to scarcely less than 1000. As, after what had passed, it was much to be feared that the colonists could never again rely upon the fidelity of their uncivilized neighbours, it was finally resolved to remove the Charaibes from the colony, and they were in consequence conveyed with their families to the Island of Ratan [*sic!*], in the Bay of Honduras.[15]

Rouse continues: "The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica."[16] The present *Carib Reserve* in Dominica was created in June 1903 by enlarging the boundaries of what for long had been the largest remaining Carib settlement in the island. As far as I know, no enforced removal of Caribs took place; and there are still several patches of "Carib lands" outside the *Reserve*, on which Carib families or descendants of Caribs are living today. Certainly, neither then nor at any other time were Caribs moved from St Vincent to Dominica.

"The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700. . . ."[17] Rouse nevertheless speaks of cocoa-nuts and limes, tortoise-shell fish-hooks and clay griddles, as if these things were contemporaneous, which is unlikely. Breton saw only two cocoa-nut trees (which the Caribs called palma, from the Spanish word for palm) in the whole of Dominica; and considered them rare enough to take and plant a nut at Basse Terre, Guadeloupe. As for limes, he says expressly: "they [the Caribs] hardly use them." Of turtle-shell fish-hooks, the 1647 *Relation* says: "On en voit encore chez eux, quoi qu'ils ne s'en servent plus."[18] On the other hand, as

15 Edwards, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 73-74.
16 *Handbook*, p. 548.
17 *Handbook*, pp. 549-550.
18 Breton, *Dictionaire Caribe-Français*, p. 297; Armand de la Paix, p. 68.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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the Spanish loan-words employed by the Carib of Breton's day show, they had already become familiar with iron, nails, wire, etc.

Rouse derives Columbus' "caribales" from "the term *Calinago* or *Calina*."[19] Breton gives: Callinago (Breton's *ll* probably approaches an apical *r*; while omission of the collective suffix, *-go*, would give Callina) as the men's, Calliponam [karipona] as the women's name for their tribe or nation. The form "caribales" is more likely to have come from the latter than from the former term.

"*Carib* men and women had certain differences in language, which may have been due to the fact that many of the women had been captured from the *Arawak*."[20] The persistence of such differences among the modern Black Carib of Central America (as also, by all accounts, among the last native speakers in Dominica and in St Vincent), would be hard to explain on similar grounds. Rouse seems to be unaware of the fact that, by Breton's time at least, the Cariban dialect of the Igneri's former conquerors had been reduced, in the speech of the Lesser Antilles, to much the same part as had Norman French, by Chaucer's day, in that of post-Conquest England. Therefore, although the Dominica Carib told Breton that they and the Guiana Galibi were of the same descent, their language was already basically different: "Le langage de nos Caraïbes est différent de celui des Gallibys de terre ferme"; and "Diversa utrisque lingua, licet illi ab his descendisse in Insulas dicant."[21]

"No estimates of the original population of the *Carib* islands have been discovered."[22] Nevertheless, the 1647 *Relation* speaks of the Caribs being "quite four or five thousand" in Dominica, and "sans nombre" in St Vincent; and elsewhere comments:

> It perhaps be asked why there are so few of them, especially in view of the multitude of their women. They tell you that it is on account of the Christians; for, as one of them told Father Raymond, the Spaniards twice massacred all the Savages of the island of St. Christopher; and once those of Guadeloupe, of whom there escaped only one woman and her children who ran away to the mountains, and, so they say, bred there. They tried to do the same in Dominica, and managed to kill quite half of those there. Since then they have been decimated by small-pox, which they call variola, and of which some died rotting, being still ignorant of any cure for this disease. Moreover, everybody captures and carries off or kills them: Flemmings, English, Spaniards, and their Allouagues, who are their enemies.[23]

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19 *Handbook*, p. 549.
20 *Ibid.*
21 Armand de la Paix, p. 49; Breton (?), p. 132: both in Rousset.
22 *Handbook*, p. 549.
23 Armand de la Paix, pp. 112 and 48.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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Later estimates are, for St Vincent: Philip Warner's "3000 Negroes and no other island as many Indians," and Stapleton's "1500 [warriors], 600 of these bowmen are Negroes," both taken from the Calendar of State Papers for the year 1676.[24] These figures may be compared with la Borde's estimated 4000 in 1700 for the two islands of Dominica and St Vincent together, i.e., after two attempts by the British under Stapleton in 1683 to exterminate the Caribs in both islands.

"The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab. . . . They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin, a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab. . . . For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coui, which was made by boiling the juice of manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour."[25] As the Carib word for food does not include fish, meat, or game, which may be called by a term meaning *food adjuncts*, crab—fond of it as the Caribs were and still are—cannot properly be called their staple food, which was and is cassava, a bread or bannock made from manioc meal. Incidentally, the manioc shrub is propagated by cuttings of two or three feet long taken from the stem of an old plant, and not, as Rouse would have it in speaking of the Arawak, from the root.[26] The Carib may have taken to citrus fruits before 1700, but neither the sauce which the modern Carib call [tumálĭ] in Dominica and [dumári] in Central America, nor that known to Breton as "tóma *sausse*, nitomáliem *ma sausse*," calls for the employment of lime juice as an ingredient. Breton says "it is so called because the women usually make it with tomali of crab, which is oily"; and he refers us to "cariouani *poivré*," where we find:

They put into a little earthen pot together with mouchache [that is, manioc starch], forty or fifty peppers [*Capsicum frutescens*] as big as the thumb, fish-scales, fish-bones, or the bones of agouti which they have gnawed, boil the lot in manioc-water (which is poisonous), and that is the sauce in which they dip their cassava (when they have nothing else). . . .[27]

The name of this sauce has been incorporated into the English language as "toma'll(e)y, *n.* Soft greenish substance (called the liver) in lobster, used as sauce. (Carib)." (Concise Oxford Dictionary). Such sauce would naturally be served in the receptacle still known in the West Indies as a coui [kuí], and made from the half of a calabash (cujete)[27a] cut in two lengthwise. Although this is one

24 *Calendar of State Papers*, 1675-1676, no. 861, and p. 499.
25 *Handbook*, p. 550.
26 *Handbook*, p. 522.
27 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïb-Français*, p. 109.
27a *Crescentia cujete.*

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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of the words black-listed by Breton as "point mots Sauvages," he himself gives what is probably the purest Carib form under "*cousi à boire coulikoro*," phonetically [kwsikɛ].

Rouse omits to mention two important classes of kitchen utensils: the mortar (*kana*), and the manioc trough (*batáia*), both carved out of single pieces of wood, the latter being just as important to the manioc complex as the stone-chip grater (*ale*), the basketry squeezer (*rukúma*) and sifter (*hibíle*), and the cassava-plate or griddle (*butáli*).

"Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*." Rouse elsewhere mentions corn beer.[28] Corn is and apparently always was of very secondary importance to the Carib, and it seems doubtful whether the Carib ever made much use of bread or beer made from it. Breton has this to say about it:

> After it has grown, that is to say two months after it has been sown, the Savages gather and roast it on the coals, then eat it. The Galibi make from it a fermented drink which is not inferior to beer. The French use it to feed poultry, while some turn it into flour, which they mix with an equal quantity of wheat flour, and make with this a fine bread which tastes quite good.[29]

Breton elsewhere describes at length the making of cassava-beer (*uíku*), and speaks of a beverage of boiled cassavas in connection with the couvade. On the other hand, the only use made of corn by the modern Dominica Carib is that described in the first sentence of the above quotation from Breton. Botanists usually describe yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) as of Old World origin, but it now seems certain that a species of *Dioscorea trifida*, known to the Carib as *kúlu*, and formerly much employed by them, was American. Two other food plants, not listed by Rouse but fairly important to the Carib of Breton's day and at the present time, are *Xanthosoma* spp. (*uího*) and pumpkin (*uasáiama*). By "guayba," Rouse presumably means *guava*, Carib: *kuiábu*.

We are told that hammocks were "made of a network of cotton thread," and that "the weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of Carib culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword shaped stick."[30] Breton, on the other hand, describes the

28 *Handbook*, pp. 551-557.
29 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 355.
30 *Handbook*, pp. 552, 555.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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weaving of hammocks on a heavy frame, similar to that employed in Guiana today, and which leaned against the wall of the house. He says:

> The Savages cut four big, round, smooth pieces of wood; two of which they lean and secure against the house-runners, while the two others are bound tightly across them, one above and one below, in proportion to the size of the bed, and around which the women arrange their cotton thread, which they handle skillfully, but without hurrying themselves over it. They leave half a foot unwoven at both extremities, and this they divide into little bundles, through which they attach a little cord called ehemabo, then bend it back at arm's length and pass it through another bundle, bend it again, and so on to the last bundle. Then they pass a smaller cord through the upper bends of the smaller cord, and this is the one by which they hang it wherever they may be to protect themselves from snakes and ants and other harmful beasts.[31]

Labat describes Carib hammocks seen some fifty years later as "une pièce de grosse toile de coton"; and goes on to say how, once the warp was set up, the women were

> obliged to pass their ball of thread under and over the warp threads, one after another, and to beat the weft down with a sort of knife made of heavy hard wood so as to make all the threads get into their places and render the work even.

From the above it would appear that heddles were not in general use; but la Borde speaks of a "roller" at the bottom of the frame, which the women turned as the weaving progressed, and states explicitly that the ends of the warp threads were left unwoven, and were not cut on completion of the hammock. From the above descriptions, as well as from modern Guiana practice, it is evident that this referred, *not* to a cloth-beam, but to a head-stick, which must have been employed, as otherwise the hammock would have had to be cut on completion, and there would have been no bundles of loops through which to pass the "little cord."

"The paint, urucú (roucou), was made by mixing oil with boiled and ground seeds from the bixa plant."[32] *Bixa orellana* L., Carib: kusúse, in the men's, and: bike, in the women's speech, is a small tree. The dye is obtained from the waxy red aril surrounding each of the seeds, which are clustered in a sort of pod. After boiling, according to Breton, the water was allowed to cool and the seeds rubbed between the hands to remove this aril, which then settled at the bottom of the water in the form of a waxlike cake. The prepared paint, known as kurikuli or

31 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-195.
32 *Handbook*, p. 332.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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urukámbai, "closes the pores, prevents the seawater from drying on their skins, keeps off mosquitoes, and kills chigoes."[33]

Carib basketry was and still is made from *Ischnosiphon arouma* (Aublet) Koernicke, the "ouallémian" of Breton's or the *warimá* of our own time and spelling, and not, as Rouse says, from "Latanie" (presumably an anglicization of French latanier, from Carib alétani, which is the small fan-palm, *Coccothrinax martinicensis* Beccari), whose leaves served as thatching and for making rough sunshades, umbrellas, bags, etc., but could not possibly be employed in the typical wicker pattern and twilled basketry of the Carib. As in Breton's time, so today Carib baskets have a double wall and cover like those of the Taino described by Rouse,[34] but such baskets are and may be rendered waterproof only by the insertion of one or more intermediary layers of leaves. The *Mytilus edulis* is not found in the Lesser Antilles today, and it seems probable that the "mussel" whose shells were used, according to Rouse,[35] in scraping strands employed for basketry, refers to some other species.

Although it may not be possible, as Rouse says, to substantiate Gower's statement that descent was matrilineal among the Island Carib, this feature is at least implicit in the kinship terminology.

Breton is in disagreement with Rouse's authorities on several points concerning the life cycle. Of a husband's relations with his wives, he says:

> they [the wives] have their turn month and month about, even when they are pregnant; after childbirth they [the husbands] remain without seeing them for a good while, for fear of harming the child.[36]

In seeming contradiction, Rouse says that sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy, and does not mention post-puerperal abstinence.[37] The solution may perhaps be found in the attitude of the modern Carib father, who says that while abstinence during pregnancy is a matter of taste, intercourse during the forty-day period following birth would be injurious to the child. Rouse notes that the accounts of the couvade vary considerably, his own being "taken largely from Davies, with supplemental data from La Borde:" "For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he con-

33 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
34 *Handbook*, p. 527.
35 *Handbook*, p. 554.
36 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
37 *Handbook*, p. 557.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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plained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock."[38] Breton has answered this last statement by saying: "it is not likely that the husband should cry out like a woman in labour; on the contrary, I've seen them come from without, secretly and stealthily, a month after the birth, in order to make their retreat and fast."[39] This is, at least, more in accordance with all modern reports of the custom. Moreover, it is disconcerting if not misleading to insist upon the "otherness" of the father's part, after rightly noting that the restrictions affected both parents; especially since precautions similar to those characterizing the Carib's "couvade" were also taken at puberty, after the death of a relative or the slaying of an enemy, and by candidates for chieftaincy or shamanship. Breton nowhere mentions any special taboo on the names of the dead, while la Borde merely says that they were avoided so as not to evoke thoughts of death. The former does say, however, that names were not used as forms of address to any but children; and that everybody's real name was kept secret from all but intimates. And, while Breton mentions that his wife was the only woman who might eat with a man, his failure to report that even this was limited to the occasion of their marriage suggests that there was no hard and fast rule about such matters. A summary cannot include everything; but the studied omissions or contradictions of a man like Breton, who had read, before publishing his own work, the accounts of Armand de la Pair, du Puis, du Tertre, and Rochefort—all of whom had sought and obtained his advice and help—cannot well be ignored. My own article on the *Kinship and Social Structure of the Island Carib* resumés some of these points at greater length.[40]

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the whole summary of Carib culture is the section on "Religion and Shamanism,"[41] which perpetuates the myth that the Carib invoked and made offerings to "the evil spirits (maboya)." Already Breton protested (and in the matter of religion, at least, he cannot be accused of prejudice in the Caribs' favor) that "There is in the belief of the Savages as much difference between Ichiiri & Mâpoya as between God & devil among ourselves; and it is unheard of among them that any one should offer sacrifices to mâpoya,"[42] while la Borde notes: "Ils craignent Mâboia, mais ils ne lui rendent aucun culte." Thirty-five years ago Roth, in his *Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians*, argued conclusively against this somewhat mischievous concep-

38 *Ibid.*
39 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.
40 Taylor, *Kinship and Social Structure; Carib Folk Beliefs.*
41 *Handbook*, pp. 541-543.
42 Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français*, pp. 283-284.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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C 114 782

tion. Breton makes it quite clear that the offerings were made to the spirits which he calls "*Dieu Ichéiri, Ioulouica, f. Chemins*," who were, in fact, spirit-helpers of both sexes, different ages, and having belonged in life to divers nations on earth. If he does not further identify the foregoing with "*esprit scamiscous, aciambouie, f. épeyem ou oupoyem*," nor speak of the body-part origin of these and of the *máipoya* and *camáicou*, it is doubtless because he lacked conclusive evidence of such beliefs. Five of the above Carib terms are employed by the modern Black Carib: the *hiiiruha* (Breton's *ioulouica*) require no other definition than that given above, and are "owned" and invoked by *biiai* (shamans), and presented with offerings of food and drink as in days gone by. The *ábambue* (Breton's *aciambouie*) are spirits of the dead, and are now distinct from *áfifi* (Breton's *oúpoyem*), which is these people's name for a ghostly apparition emanating from a "bad person" who is dead. The *máfia* (*máfoia*, with the old people, and identical with Breton's *máipoya*) are malevolent bush-spirits, while the *ámeru* (Breton's *camáicou*) are mischievous but not very dangerous spirits frequenting the shore and tidal waters of the sea. There is no orthodox belief as to the origin of the last two; but rites to propitiate the *hiiiruha*, as well as the spirits of the family dead, are still performed, though Creoles and other non-Caribs (to the indignation and scorn of the Carib themselves) still refer to them as "devil dances" or (in Spanish) "baile mafia."

C 114 782

Such rites and feasts as Breton describes certainly took more than "several days" to prepare,[43] and Breton speaks of four months in this connection. From him it appears, moreover, that except for six or eight befeathered functionaries who danced in couples, side by side and holding one another by an arm placed around the other's neck, the people danced singly, and not "arm in arm" as Rouse says.

C 114 821

Rouse cites a certain number of Carib terms, and for these at least one would expect Breton's dictionary to have been consulted. Thus, he states: "The sun (*noum*) was considered a male. . . . The moon (*houiou*) was female. . . ."[44] Breton gives *huéyou* (and, in the women's speech, *cachi*) for the *sun*; *nóoum* (and, in the women's speech, *cati*) for the *moon*; treats both as masculine, and of the second says specifically: "So is *nóoum* [masculine], when it means the moon, because they believe that it is a man." Also la Borde says: "They make the moon masculine, and call it *nóoum*." The story of the incestuous brother who became the moon, and of his son Hiali (to be found in the dictionary under "*iarémi*"),

43 *Handbook*, p. 561.
44 *Handbook*, p. 564.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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is still told by the modern Dominica Carib, who also remember the terms *hubiu ran*, *tainli moon*, although they no longer speak the language; while the Black Carib employ *tabu ran*, *hábi moon*, both masculine. Breton's qualification ("when it means the moon") refers to the fact that this same Carib word was also employed for the *earth*. Other forms cited by Rouse, such as boyez (shaman) and Sovacou (species of heron and name of constellation), are more misleading than Breton's *bóye* and *chaoukóou*, since the sounds *z* and *v* did not occur in the Island Carib of the seventeenth century and later, any more than in its modern offshoot. This may seem like carping, but it is unscholarly to cite Carib forms without consulting the only author among the early sources who spoke the language.[45]

Although no ball-courts have been reported from the Lesser Antilles, and while it is probably correct in one sense that "The *Carib* lacked the ball-game," as Steward says in his introduction,[46] yet it is evident that *some* ball-game was played by them in Breton's time, since he lists in his dictionary "Atalouacayem *jouer à la paume, la renvoyer*"; and, in the French-Carib section "*paume, balle, ou balon à jouer tiboucle; allons jouer à la paume* calman ouábouyacoua."

One misses at the outset of the part devoted to the West Indies a good map, such as is given for practically every other region treated throughout the *Handbook*. The sketch-map on page 498 does not distinguish the islands of the Lesser Antilles by name, nor show their relative positions and sizes with even approximate accuracy: what I suppose to be Guadeloupe (600 square miles) appears to be about one third the size of what is certainly meant for Tobago (114 square miles).

The above criticisms are in no wise intended to be derogatory of the author of this part of the volume, or of his work; but are meant to point out the dangers of too great an eclecticism, or of too hasty an evaluation of such chroniclers as those who wrote in early colonial times. It is only natural that sources on the Carib have, as Rouse admits, relatively more ethnographic material than those, more numerous, on the Arawak Taino. Linguistically the former group had more, and racially and culturally *as* much, in common with the Arawak Igneri than/or as with the continental Carib tribes; yet one sometimes cannot avoid the feeling, in reading through this part of the volume, that Rouse—perhaps unconsciously—has selected and presented his data *ad majorem Arwake gloriam*.

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45 *See my Notes on Star-Lore*. Other confusing spellings copied by Rouse are achimin, *ichimi*, *caminen*, as compared with Breton's *achimen*, *ichimi*, *camoken*. In other than Carib words, he gives both "ginipe fruit" and "junipe tree," both presumably referring to *Genipa americana*; and "Lambys" for lambi (*lobi*), the French name for the conch.

46 *Handbook*, p. 26.

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
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3. Species which are believed to have medicinal [1], questionable medicinal, or magic virtues [2].

Dominican all plant lore is on the wane, but the third class is the only one which presents serious difficulties with regard to obtaining information, at least so far as present day knowledge goes. This class of plant lore belongs now only to a few old men and women who regard such knowledge as their private property and are less willing to part with it, even for money, than a modern housewife with her grandmother's cooking recipes.

III. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The authors have assembled the following notes on the uses of certain plants by the Island Caribs of Dominica following independent investigations in the fields of botany and ethnography.

Intensive botanical studies in Dominica were initiated by the senior author in 1937. The following year, aided by a grant from the Gray Herbarium, and again in 1940, as a Parker Fellow of Harvard University, he made return visits to continue this work. During the period of this field work brief visits to the Carib Reserve were made during which the majority of plants on which this publication is based were collected. A number of additional specimens of Carib economic plants also have been collected and forwarded from Dominica by the junior author.

Research by the junior author began in Dominica in 1930 and since 1934 the island has been his home. Visits to the Carib Reserve have been frequent, and the results of some of his ethnographical studies appear as citations in the bibliography of this work (32 - 63).

In this contribution the International Rules governing botanical nomenclature have been followed. Certain binomials which have appeared in basic West Indian floras are no longer accepted by botanists as valid names. These have been included in synonymy. The plant families follow the arrangement

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[1] Many of these are still used and so are enumerated in the pages that follow, but some apparently have been long forgotten. Among the latter is one given by DuTertre (18) under the Carib name, *ribdiel*. Barrot (7) describes it as "a real reed (*jonc*) ... whose needle-thin roots thicken at intervals like the big beads of a rosary. One of these, when crushed, will bring about a painless accouchement... more than one would injure the child." *Ribdiel* sounds as though it has some of the botanical characteristics of an *Eleocharis* but the authors know of no plant like it from Dominica. However, Barrot also calls *Isolepis cernua* a "jonc" so it is difficult to know what kind of plant to look for.

[2] The more the plant the more marvelous are its properties as a charm among the Island Caribs. In fact certain species like the *cercle de mandoque* are so rare that they appear to exist only in legend.